1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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788 defile, which winds up the hill-side and then suddenly emerges on a
776 grassy table-land, the home of countless flocks of wild guinea-fowl.
778 There are no villages or compounds on the summit, for, after the punitive expedition many years ago, the people were ordered to come down from the hill-tops and live in the valley.

776 The god itself, which is supposed to be an emanation of the Supreme
778 Being, does not, as far as I could discover, possess any shrine beyond a natural temple in the form of a large rock cavern, where the service about to be described was held, and a rock altar, that may or may not have been natural, in front of a second cavity in the rock not very far from the first cave, the entrance to which was hung with filthy old rags. The altar was so smothered in fowls' feathers, which also lay more than ankle deep on the ground, that I could not be certain of its composition.

796 On the morning of the ceremony I reached the rocks below the
788 first cave about 8 a.m. and found I was the first arrival. The Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan'* had not yet appeared. From then onwards,
[484] until about 9 a.m., groups of pilgrims began to arrive. To my wonder and astonishment I saw well-dressed Africans, men and women who I later discovered, had motored hundreds of miles from Kumasi, Kwahu, and Mampon. Among these were several of my Ashanti friends of old days, and never shall I forget the look of amazement on their faces at meeting me again in such a place. About 9 a.m. the Chief of Teŋ'zugu and the *Ten'dan'* arrived. The former was a really magnificent-looking man, standing well over six feet and very finely
●[777] proportioned. He was covered in amulets and fetishes, as was the *Ten'dan'* (see Figs. 73 and 74).

796 I told them (as we had indeed already arranged) that I would like to attend the ceremony and register my wish and make my vows. They asked permission to go forward and make preparation, and soon afterwards I heard the rhythmic clapping of hands, which was faintly audible to us below. All the pilgrims now began to undress. The Coast women disrobed and put on shorts; hats, shoes, white pith helmets, and clothes were piled up and scattered over the boulders (see Fig. 75). We were now called to come forward, and climbed up the rocks until we came to the low entrance of the cave (see Fig. 76). This we were asked to enter backwards. Soon the cave was packed so full that many were sitting on their companions' legs and laps. I know I had a person on each knee. Some one asked me to give my name and what I wanted. I asked Aboya, who was with me, to state the nature of my work; how I was trying to record their ancient customs, that the best of them

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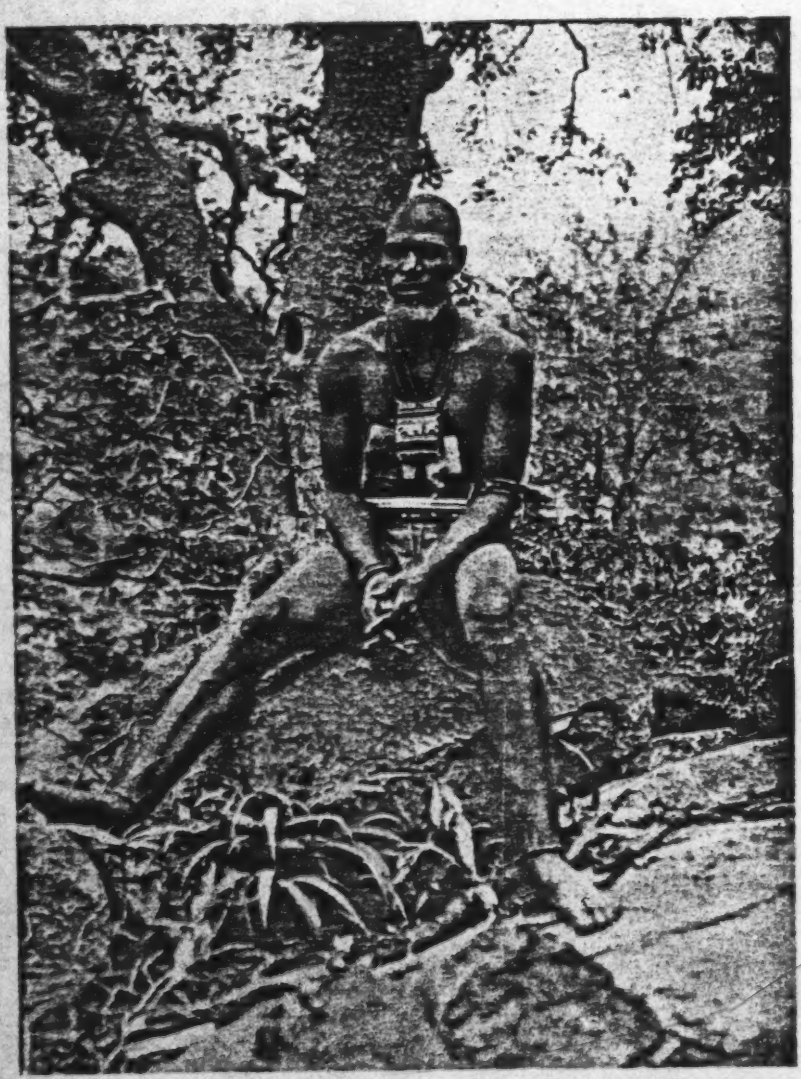

FIG. 73. The Chief of Teŋ'zugu

[facing p. 362]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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kinship ties with the mother's brother and his lineage, are all evidence of the imperishability of a woman's ties with her parental family.

Last but not least, a woman continues all her life to be under the care of her patrilineal ancestors. She must observe their totemic taboos. One of them is her spirit guardian (*sɛyər*), to whom her husband will have to send animals on her behalf as sacrifices on critical occasions such as her first confinement, and from whose tutelage she must be ritually released on death. Whenever an important sacrifice to these ancestors takes place in her paternal home she is told, and has the right to participate and to receive a definite share of the sacrificial meat. She has duties to these lineage ancestors too. Thus whenever a shrine of a lineage founder passes to a new lineage head, a daughter of the lineage is selected by divination to fetch it to its new home. Her good or ill fortune as wife and mother depends very much on that occult arbiter of life which the Tallensi conceive of as a personal Predestined Fate (*Nuor Yin*); and this is associated with one's patrilineal ancestors. If a woman's children die one after another she is being dogged by an evil Predestiny; and only her paternal kin can perform the ritual of exorcising it. Finally, when she dies, though she is buried by her husband's lineage according to their rites, and her spirit is aggregated to those of their ancestors, since it is her sons who will sacrifice to and worship her spirit, her paternal kin also perform a short and symbolic funeral ceremony for her. Thus she is 'brought home (*mar kul*)' to be received amongst her paternal ancestors, and the cycle of her life is completed.

The Opposition between the Kinship Ties and the Marital Ties of Spouses, and its Resolution

All her life a woman is subject to the pull of her patrilateral kinship ties. As a wife, however, she must submit more and more to the contrary pull of her marital ties. Her husband is even more strongly ruled by his ties with his natal family and patrilineal kin. Many of the chances and changes of marriage come down to the question of how the partners adjust themselves to the opposing loyalties and interests associated with their divergent kinship ties. A marriage reaches stability when the partners achieve common interests and mutual bonds strong enough to hold them together in the face of their respective patrilateral kinship ties. That is why the birth of children plays such a vital part in stabilizing a marriage.

Marriage, then, is in one aspect a unique relationship between one man and one woman; in this context, peculiarities of personality influence the fate of a particular marriage. In another aspect, or more accurately, perhaps, at the other end of the scale of marriage relations, it is a union between a man and a woman who represent and remain

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602 the family keep an eye on the girl lest she overstrain herself or break one
843 of the dietary taboos. If his father is alive it is he who visits diviners and appeals to the ancestors.

The woman's paternal family, too, are concerned, especially in a first pregnancy. When they have been informed of it, her father appeals to his ancestors to bless her in her coming ordeal, and her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood, as her time approaches. It is also her mother's duty, round about the fourth or fifth month, to send one of
[292] her co-wives to 'gird the girl with a perineal band (*suol u voog*)', the garb of a matron; for until she has a child a woman wears no genital covering.

The prohibition against giving or accepting bride-price during a woman's pregnancy expresses this general solicitude too. Bride-price transactions involve tension and possible conflict between her father's people and her husband's; and this is not only distressing to her but dangerous to the unborn child. If, for instance, her father, defying convention and the ancestor spirits, as some men are heartless enough to do, takes her from her husband because the bride-price is not paid, the child's legitimate paternity may be prejudiced, as we have noted before, and its health suffer, or the woman herself have a difficult labour.

843 The solicitude for a woman with child reaches its peak at her confine-
844 ment and during the subsequent three or four weeks, until she has regained her strength and resumes her normal activities. Many men
846 have described to me their feelings in the hour of a wife's labour. 'You sit listening to her cries and groans of agony. You can't sleep. Your heart is clenched with fear and pity. You do not know how it will end. Do not women die in childbirth or become ill? Do not children die or get injured at birth?' A man's relief and happiness when his wife has passed safely (*salɔg*) through her confinement is written plainly in his voice and gait. Zaŋ, one of the most morose men I have known, was all smiles and affability on the morning after his wife's confinement.
●[777] When friends and neighbours congratulate a man on his good luck (*zusɔŋ*, lit. good head) it is as much on account of his wife's safety as on the child's arrival.

846 During the days of seclusion—three for a boy and four for a girl—and for the next week or so, it is the husband's duty to provide sustaining food and appetizing condiments for his wife. He will go out to fetch large logs for the fire that must be kept going day and night in the woman's room while she and the babe are still weak and liable to catch cold. Every morning he will go out or send someone to collect the leaves and herbs to infuse in the hot water with which mother and child are bathed. And if necessary he will himself carry water from the water-hole or do other services for her comfort that men usually consider to be beneath their dignity.

846 A confinement also involves extra labour and the dislocation of routine
602 for the womenfolk of the husband's family. The care of the woman and

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someone in the crowd always cries out that there is no one who can match these achievements or can claim that his father or mother did so.

This is the most dramatic though not the only expression of pride in one's parents among the Tallensi. They always show off an old parent, own or classificatory, with great pride to a visitor. I have often been led out of my way to shake the hand of a blind and senile old man or old woman who was too bemused with age to understand the long speech with which we were presented to each other. Women and children tell the stranger proudly, 'Don't you know so and so? I am his child.' This pride in one's parents is the reciprocal of their pride and satisfaction in the possession of children. It is so marked with old people in part because the Tallensi honour old age as a sign of good luck (*zuɔŋ*). The death of an old parent is an occasion of rejoicing rather than of lamentation for they say, 'Has he not savoured life to the full? (*U pu di ŋɔvɔr sa'ahi*).' At the same time the natives say that the death of an old man is a loss to his sons even though he had long relinquished the management of household affairs to them and had only a titular superiority in the affairs of the community. He may be blind, deaf, and senile, as Doohraan was, but he is still the head of the family and lineage, the hub of their unity, and the intermediary between them and their ancestors. However infirm an old man may be of body or understanding he is regularly told of everything that happens in the house, and his consent is always obtained before anything is done in his name, as everything that pertains to the family or lineage must be.

From all that has been said here it can be seen that filial piety among the Tallensi is by no means a simple and stereotyped attitude. Respect, affection, a feeling of mutual identification, and a sense of dependence, supported by the whole strength of the lineage system and the ancestor cult, are mingled with great freedom in everyday intercourse, as we shall see shortly, and with the strain of latent antagonism. It is an indication of the strength and internal consistency of the social system as a whole that ruptures between father and son are not very common.

Filial piety is a significant element in all Tale genealogical relationships. A person's loyalty to and solidarity with his lineage springs from his relationship with his father, his ties with his matrilateral kin from his relationship with his mother. The founding ancestor of a lineage is visualized as its 'father' and the progenitrix of a lineage segment as its 'mother'.[1] A person identifies himself with his patrilateral kin through first identifying himself with his father, and with his matrilateral kin by extending his identification with his mother. Economic motives, jural rules, and ritual sanctions work on the individual through his sentiments of filial piety.

This can be seen clearly in the interlocking of land tenure, local cohesion, and clan solidarity. The land a man owns in his clan settlement

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 201 ff.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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593 578 the other taboos of first-born children. Its meaning is plain if we bear in mind what the gateway and the *zɔŋ* symbolize in the structure of the family and the lineage.[1] Significantly enough, a first-born daughter does not observe it.

Eventually, when the son's older children are reaching adolescence, the opposition between his father and himself culminates in his formal separation from his parental family. We have noticed before that fission in the joint family is basically due to structural and economic factors. In the case of an eldest son's hiving off, Tallensi say that it is often brought about by the jealousies of the womenfolk. The son's wife or wives complain that they are not getting a fair deal in the distribution of food-supplies in the joint family. They are always nagging at their husband on that account. So when a son 'goes out on his own (*yi u kɔkɔ*)' natives say it is in order the better to support his wives and children. But the separation is actually due as much to the relations between the man and his father as to the purely economic causes. It is an instance of the convergence and congruence of structural principles and economic necessities.

593 578 884 Most commonly an eldest son separates off formally by cutting a new gateway for himself in the family homestead. The native phrase is *bit u zanɔr* ('slit his gateway'), and it describes precisely what happens. The wall of the homestead is cut through so as to make an extra gateway leading into the son's quarters. Though he and his wife and children will very often use the main gateway, he is by status the owner of his own subsidiary gateway and cannot formally clash with his father. At the same time he achieves a considerable measure of economic independence. He will have his own bush farm and small home farm and be responsible for providing the bulk of the food required by his wife and children. But he still helps his father and younger brothers with their farm work, and receives some food-supplies from his father in return if his own supplies are insufficient for his needs. Sometimes, however, an eldest son moves out altogether. His father may let him build a homestead on a bush farm belonging to the family, or he may migrate to one of the peripheral settlements. As we have seen, it usually takes a few years for a son to achieve this step. I have heard young men who were pressing their claims for a separate gateway express impatience with an obstinate old father and even resentment against his apparent tyranny. But when the parting comes it is usually amicable, and father and son continue to be on excellent and intimate terms thereafter. The son is still under his father's final authority in jural and ritual matters.

593 578 777 *The Native Theory of the Tension between the Generations*

Tallensi explain the rivalry between father and son by means of the

[1] Cf. Ch. III above.

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mystical concept of the *Yin* or personal Destiny.[1] There is, they say, an inborn antagonism between the *Yin* of a father and the *Yin* of his eldest son. While the son is still young his *Yin* is weak, but as he grows older his *Yin* grows more powerful and wants to make him master of his own affairs. The son's *Yin* wants to destroy the father's *Yin*; but the father's *Yin* desires the father to live and be well and remain master of the house. It wishes to continue to receive sacrifices from the father. Therefore it will try to destroy the son's *Yin*, and if it is the stronger *Yin* it will cause misfortune and perhaps death to the son. That is the reason why father and son must avoid meeting in the gateway of the homestead and why it is better for them to separate, after the son has reached a stage of maturity when his *Yin* begins to be as powerful as his father's. In the same way an oldest daughter's evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*) is a threat to her mother's life and health. When Sinkawol's wife was waiting for her evil Predestiny to be exorcised she was not allowed to go and visit her sick mother for fear that her *Yinbe'er* might cause her mother to get worse.

To appreciate the profundity of this interpretation we need to understand the Tale notion of *Yin*. It is one of the most difficult of their religio-psychological ideas to translate into our categories of thought. Indeed, it is not a precise notion but, like all Tale ritual ideas, a configuration of mutually overlapping ideas, beliefs, and values.

Yin is the shortened form of *Naawun* or *Naayin*, the Tale term which can best be translated as Heaven. But whereas *Naawun* is concerned with all mankind, each person's *Yin* belongs uniquely to that person. It is the symbol of his individuality, of what makes his life history different in his own eyes from that of every other person. If he falls ill he is enduring something that is the common human lot, and he tries to cope with his illness by the same measures that anybody else would take. But, he asks himself, why should he have fallen ill just at this time and not his brother or somebody else, for instance. When he kills an animal in the hunt, or buys a cow, or marries, or has a child he goes through experiences that every man has, and his social personality takes on attributes that are part of the social personality of every man of about the same stage of social maturity. Yet they are his own private experiences. They form part of the unique continuity of his personal development. None of them was inevitable. They are due to the intervention of chance in his life; or, as the Tallensi believe, to the action of the mystical agencies that dictate the course of human life.

These, very briefly, are the ideas, as nearly as one can translate them into our modes of thought, behind the Tale notion of *Yin*. It is a mystical notion because their ideas of causality are couched in a ritual idiom and are rooted in ritual beliefs; and it serves several ends. Tallensi do not

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 144, for a discussion of this concept from a different angle.

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conceive of the inner life of the individual as a distinct phenomenon apart from the external, material, and social facts of his life. But they understand clearly that each person is unique as an individual. The notion of *Yin* is the means by which they visualize the connexion between the material and social facts of the person's life and his individuality. It enables them, also, to see a tendency and a determinism in the life of the individual by reference to which they make the intervention of chance intelligible and emotionally tolerable.

A person's Destiny has various aspects, some or all of which may emerge in the course of his life. There is, first of all, his Predestiny (*nuor Yin*, the *Yin* of the mouth). This is the fate the individual has preordained for himself before birth. In his pre-natal state he 'spoke when he was with Heaven above (*u daa vɔlɔm Naayin zugni*)'. Both men and women have this *Yin*; and it is this *Yin* that sometimes manifests itself as an evil *Yin* (*Yinbe'er*), when the individual is pursued by chronic bad luck in the important things of life—things like health, marriage, parenthood. He (or she) had declared before birth that he does not want to have parents or children or a spouse or any of the good things of life. A child suffering from an evil Predestiny is constantly ailing; a man so afflicted cannot find a wife or is deserted by every wife he marries; or he loses his children one after the other in infancy; or he is for ever having bad crops or losing his livestock; and a woman with a *Yinbe'er* loses her children one after another in infancy, or her husband, or perhaps she herself gets ill of some wasting disease. Moreover, this ill luck that haunts the unwitting sufferer is also a constant danger to his family. A child's evil *Yin* may cause the death of a parent or a sibling; a man's or woman's evil *Yin* spoils the life of his or her spouse, children, and parents as well as his or her own life. The evil *Yin* symbolizes all the subterranean animosities and aggression latent in the relations of members of the joint family with one another. The cure is a ritual exorcism, carried out by the maximal or medial lineage of the sufferer, but this is not always successful.

If a woman's Predestiny is harmless or beneficent it remains latent, as it were. It is not objectified in any way as she has no ritual status.[1] Her *Yin* is subordinate to and submerged in her father's or her husband's *Yin*. But a man's Predestiny, if it is beneficent, may declare itself to him, usually after adolescence, but occasionally before. Thus a young man may kill an animal in the hunt and this will declare itself, through a diviner, to be the vehicle of his *nuor Yin*, and demand that he dedicate a shrine to it.

[1] Women have no *Yin* or other ancestor shrines as they have no independent relationship with the ancestors. This is a reflex of their status in Tale society as jural and ritual minors who do not play a part in maintaining the continuity of the society or the equilibrium of the body politic independently of their relationship to their fathers or husbands.

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But a man's most important *Yin* is that with which certain of his ancestors are associated. This too may come to him in childhood, though it does so more commonly in early manhood. Usually it manifests itself to him through an accident or a coincidence. Thus a young man falls ill shortly after he has bought a new hoe or killed an animal in the hunt. The diviners then declare that his illness was caused by his *Yin*; his ancestors so and so, and so and so, are thus revealing themselves as his *Yin*; the hoe or the animal is their vehicle; they brought illness on him because they demand that he should accept them as his *Yin* and sacrifice to them. The young man will then build a shrine dedicated to these ancestors placing the skull of the animal or the blade of the hoe on it, and will henceforth sacrifice to them on this shrine. This is his first and most intimately personal shrine, and it plays an enormous part in his life thereafter. As far as his own personal affairs are concerned, it will always be his most important link with his ancestors. It is through his *Yin* that they exercise the most direct influence upon his life and that he seeks to maintain their goodwill specifically for himself. When he becomes head of his joint family he will entrust most of the children born into the family to his *Yin* as spirit guardian. Every important step in his social development will be registered in his relations with his *Yin*; it may be by a special sacrifice, or it may be by a change in the location of the shrine, or the addition of an ancestor to the group of ancestors who have revealed themselves (*naam*) as his *Yin*. A man's *Yin* is both the chart of his life and the helm with which he steers his way through life.

All the ancestors and ancestresses of a man have a potential mystical relevance for his life, but they have the same potential relevance for any of their descendants. His *Yin* ancestors, on the other hand, are concerned exclusively with him, for his own sake, so to speak. They form a particular combination, usually of very recent forebears, who do not belong together in just that grouping for any other of their descendants. They may be patrilateral or matrilateral ancestors or a combination of both lines. Thus a man might have as his *Yin* ancestors his father, father's father, father's father's mother, and her father, while his brother has their father, father's mother, and father's mother's father as his *Yin* ancestors. Of another pair of brothers, one's *Yin* ancestors may be their mother's father, maternal grandfather, and maternal great-grandfather; and the other's might be their mother's mother, her father, and his father (see Fig. 5, page 230).

Thus when a Talən says that his *Yin* and his eldest son's *Yin* are mutually dangerous, he is saying that his son's successful growth and development into and through manhood is a threat to his authority and primacy in the family, a symbol of the inevitable decline in his physical and mental power that comes with age, and a warning that he must in due course make way for the next generation; and yet it is also the

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593 crowning achievement of his life ... t significant sign that his *Yin* has
●777 prospered him (*màal*) well. The ... s of father and son are a balance
578 between their ties of solidarity a... l identification, which form the central link of the lineage syst... leavage due to their belonging to successive generations. C... ve encounter the fundamental

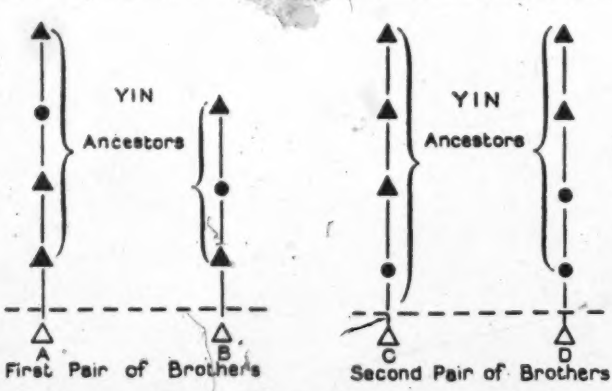

FIG. 5. *Yin* Ancestors.

principle of Tale social organization, that every constellation of social relationships is made up of a polar balance of ties and cleavages.

The Discrimination between Oldest Children and Youngest Children

593 The cleavage between father and first son obviously plays an important part in the cycle of development of the joint family and lineage.
578 The oldest son's breakaway from the parental home is the first phase of fission of the joint family, and it is not until after his father's death that he and his brothers are likely to become reunited into a single domestic unit.

We have spoken sometimes as if the cleavage between successive generations lay solely between parents and their first-born children, at other times as if it were a gulf between parents and all their children. In practice, tension crops up between a parent and any of his or her adolescent or adult children, but one reason why it is always likely to be sharpest with oldest children is simply because they have gone farthest along the road of social and economic maturity and so symbolize the filial generation most effectively of all the children. Among
593 non-Namoos it does not seem to matter whether the oldest children
578 are first-born or merely the oldest surviving children. Among the
184 Namoos, however, there is the striking peculiarity of their fixing the ritual and affective bar between the generations on the first-born children. If a man's first-born son is dead, and even if he died in infancy, the oldest living son does not assume the taboos of the first-born. The

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603 587 [177]

because it is not very usual for a man to have a grandson old enough to take a wife, when he dies, and also to leave a young widow.

The converse marriage of a grandfather with the widow of his 'grandson' of the same inner lineage is said to be permissible but not good. Tallensi think it is incongruous and therefore likely to be unlucky. I learnt of only one such case that has occurred in recent years, and my informants pointed out that all the children born of the marriage had died.

Old women make use of this rule when they are left widows. A widow must either remarry one of her husband's clansmen or else go home to her father's house and marry from there as if she were a spinster. For an old widow remarriage is a formality since she is past child-bearing, and will in any case live with her sons. So when she is asked to choose her new husband from amongst those of her late husband's clansmen who offer her marriage *pro forma*, she often announces, 'I choose a grandson (*man luogəra yaaŋ*)'. She thus satisfies the formal requirements and can go on living with her sons.

Within the lineage inter-personal relations of grandparent and grandchild are not extended beyond the inner lineage—that is, the range within which generation differences between individuals are recognized; but the term *yaab* is applied to any patrilineal ancestor except the father. On the mother's side only the mother's own parents and proxy parents are recognized as grandparents; but any lineage with which a person has matrilateral connexions is described as his *yaab yiri*. Thus any patrilineal ancestor's mother's lineage is a *yaab yiri*; and the letter of custom entitles a man to marry the widow of any member of his *yaab yiri*. In practice such marriages are exceedingly rare, for the widow's husband's lineage-brothers and clansmen resent them strongly. But there have been one or two instances in the past generation in which a young widow eloped with her deceased husband's classificatory *yaaŋ*. What the outraged members of the deceased husband's lineage most resent is that they cannot claim the return of the bride-price. The only sanction they can use is to refuse to sacrifice to their ancestors on behalf of the 'grandson' who has so flouted them; but this is a double-edged weapon. They may not use it, since the 'grandson' was within his formal rights in marrying one of their widows. Hence they would arouse the wrath of their ancestors if they sought to penalize their 'grandson' ritually. This extension of leviratic rights to matrilateral kin is associated with the notion that a woman might have been born a man but for the intervention of chance, and her descendants might therefore have been of the true agnatic line. It will be better understood when we have considered the relations of mother's brother and sister's son (Ch. XI below).

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and probably best translated as "Baby". Proper guardianship is later fixed by a special ritual of dedicating the child to its spirit-guardian with a larger sacrifice of a sheep or a goat or other animal of that standing, which takes place at the first head-shaving of the child, generally when it is two or three years old. By then the child may have a successor in birth order and he will have proved himself to be under good guardianship by virtue of his survival.

But our concern is with the names themselves. What sort of names are these private ones? Some are immediately obvious to anyone who knows the language and culture of the Tallensi. These are names of particular kinds of ancestor shrines which all men have, or owe homage to, through their family or lineage head. Thus, one of the commonest Tale names is YIN[9]) or some compound of this root. It is the root of the word NAAYIN, literally Chief-God, that is the heavenly god. But more pertinently for the subject of names, it is the name for the shrine and the associated ancestors, powers, and votive objects that together make up the cult focus of what is thought of as the individual's Destiny. The best fortune a Talena can have is to have many children; and if he is lucky in this respect it is attributed to the benevolence of his YIN. Thus it happens that some of a man's children are almost always claimed as wards by his YIN ancestors; and a census soon shows that there are few families in which one or more children are not called by the name YIN or a compound of this word. Like all Tale names, it can be borne by both males and females, and is, of course, both the *seyraan* name and the open name.

Since having children is so often interpreted as a sign of the benevolence of a person's YIN, it is not surprising to find that often a number of a man's children are the wards of his YIN. If they are all under the guardianship of the YIN "as such" they may all bear the name YIN but with affixes that help to distinguish one child from another. The following is a list of some of the commonest YIN names. They are taken from a list of names found among the children and grandchildren of one old man.

YIN: YIN-DOOG (lit. male Yin); YIM-PƆK (lit. female Yin); YIM-BIL (lit. little Yin); YIN-ZIE (lit. red Yin — because the child was light skinned); YIN-TEE (lit. Yin's tree — referring to one of the votive objects on the shrine); YIN-TEEBIL (lit. little Yintee).

Similar devices are used with other names that may be repeated among several children and grandchildren of one family; for a man's children may be successively given as wards to other ancestor figures than the YIN. Thus another common name that is both a private name and an open name is BƆYAR and its compounds. Children so named may be the wards of the distant lineage ancestors mystically assembled at the central shrine of the lineage, the *bɔyar*[10]), as it is called. But they are also so named because they are the spiritual wards of one of the Hill Talis "external"

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[9]) Cognate forms, in other dialects, are WUN, WENDE. I have given some account of the YIN concept in my previously mentioned books. YIN is also the name given to the first-born of a pair of twins, "because he is the first to see the heavens above". The second-born is called ZUUR, tail, "because he comes behind the first".

[10]) This is the supreme ancestral shrine of a clan or a lineage. See op. cit. *Dynamics of Clanship* for details.